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OYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY.

No. 33.

The Two Ways of Treason;

OR,

THE OPEN TRAITOR OF THE SOUTH FACE TO FACE WITH HIS SKULKING ABETTOR AT THE NORTH.

NEW YORK, OCT., 1863.

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1863.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

NEW YORK.

The objects of the Society are expressed in the following Resolution, formally adopted by the unanimous vote of the Society, at its first Meeting, 14 February, 1863.

Resolved, That the object of this organization is, and shall be confined to the distribution of Journals and Documents of unquestionable and unconditional loyalty throughout the United States, and particularly in the Armies now engaged in the suppression of the Rebellion, and to counteract, as far as practicable, the efforts now being made by the enemies of the Government and the advocates of a disgraceful peace to circulate journals and documents of a disloyal character.

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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY.

No. 33.

THE TWO WAYS OF TREASON;

OR,

THE OPEN TRAITOR OF THE SOUTH FACE TO FACE WITH HIS SKULKING ABETTOR AT THE NORTH.

By force of sheer reiteration, thousands of ignorant and thoughtless people at the North, as well as in Europe, have been persuaded into the belief that the Government of the United States, and the loyal people who sustain it, were in some way responsible for the war which now, for nearly three years, has devastated the country; or, at least, that they might at any time honorably end it, and restore peace and tranquillity if they chose.

Presuming upon their ability to bewilder and mislead the popular mind, the secret abettors of the rebellion, under the name of Peace Democrats, have undertaken to organize a political party upon these wholly unfounded assumptions, and so, by dividing the people of the North, give the most efficient aid and comfort to the slave barons, in their war to overthrow free institutions on this continent.

Said *Horatio Seymour*, at the Academy of Music, in the city of New York, on the 4th day of July, 1863: "WE stood before this community a few years ago, to warn them of the dangers of sectional strife. Again, at a later day, when the clouds of war overhung our country, WE implored those in authority to *compromise that difficulty.* You have the results of these unheeded warnings and unheeded prayers; *they* have stained our soil with blood; they have carried mourning into thousands of homes, and to-day they have brought our country to the very verge of destruction."

Said Mr. *Pugh*, in a speech to 50,000 voters, who nominated Horatio Seymour's friend Vallandigham, and resolved to elect him Governor of Ohio—as witness "*The Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge*"—"I know that slaves and suppliants pretending once to have been with us, give themselves the task of asserting that the South would not accept any *reasonable terms of compromise.* It is not a matter of opinion with me, for I was a member of Congress and familiar with the transactions of which I speak. Mr. LINCOLN and his supporters were entreated, earnestly entreated, as well as warned, NOT TO LAUNCH THIS COUNTRY INTO THE VORTEX OF CIVIL WAR; but they scorned entreaty and laughed at advice."

And President *Morse* of that same "*Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge*," under date of March 2d, 1863, said: "To the action of Mr. Field and his radical associates in the Peace Congress, can be traced the present awful condition of the country."

To all this and much more of the same tenor, daily poured forth from the Copperhead press, what says Mr. A. H. Stephens, the present Vice-President of the so-called Southern Confederacy, and without doubt the ablest thinker of all those engaged in the great treason?

In the Georgia State Convention, held in January, 1861, to determine the question of secession for that State, Mr. Stephens gave utterance to the following memorable words:

"This step (of secession) once taken, can never be recalled; and all the baleful and withering consequences that must follow, will rest on the convention for all coming time. When we and

our posterity shall see our lovely South desolated by the demon of war, WHICH THIS ACT OF YOURS WILL INEVITABLY INVITE AND CALL FORTH; when our green fields of waving harvest shall be trodden down by the murderous soldiery and fiery car of war sweeping over our land; our temples of justice laid in ashes; all the horrors and desolations of war upon us; WHO BUT THIS CONVENTION WILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR IT? and who, but him who shall have given his vote for this unwise and ill-timed measure, as I honestly think and believe, SHALL BE HELD TO STRICT ACCOUNT FOR THIS SUICIDAL ACT BY THE PRESENT GENERATION, AND PROBABLY CURSED AND EXECRATED BY POSTERITY FOR ALL COMING TIME, for the wide and desolating ruin that will inevitably follow this act you now propose to perpetrate? Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reasons you can give that will even satisfy yourselves in calmer moments—what reasons you can give to your fellow-sufferers in the calamity that it will bring upon us. WHAT REASONS CAN YOU GIVE TO THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH TO JUSTIFY IT? They will be the calm and deliberate judges in the case; and what cause or one overt act can you name or point, on which to rest the plea of justification? WHAT RIGHT HAS THE NORTH ASSAILED? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? and what claim founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done by the government of Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer. While, on the other hand, let me show the facts (and believe me, gentlemen, I am not here the advocate of the North; but I am here the friend, the firm friend and lover of the South and her institutions, and for this reason I speak thus plainly and faithfully for yours, mine, and every other man's interest, the words of truth and soberness), of which I wish you to judge, and I will only state facts which are clear and undeniable, and which now stand as records authentic in the history of our country. When we of the South demanded the slave trade, or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a three-fifths representation in Congress for our slaves, was it not granted? When we asked and demanded the return of any fugitive from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution, and again ratified and strengthened by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850? But do you reply that in many instances they have violated this compact, and have not been faithful to their engagements? As individual and local communities, they may have done so; but not by the sanction of government; for that has always been true to Southern interests. Again, gentlemen,

look at another fact, when we have asked that more territory should be added, that we might spread the institution of slavery, have they not yielded to our demands in giving us Louisiana, Florida and Texas, out of which four States have been carved, and ample territory for four more to be added in due time, if you, by this unwise and impolitic act, do not destroy this hope, and, perhaps, by it lose all, and have your last slave wrenched from you by stern military rule, as South America and Mexico were; or by the vindictive decree of a universal emancipation, which may reasonably be expected to follow. But, again, gentlemen, what have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the general government? We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the presidents chosen from the South; as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the executive department. So of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North; although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the Free States, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the South. This we have required, so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the legislative branch of government. In choosing the presiding presidents (*pro tem.*) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the house, we have had twenty-three, and they twelve. While the majority of the representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have so generally secured the Speaker, because he, to a greater extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. Nor have we had less control in every other department of the general government. Attorney-Generals we have had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign ministers we have had eighty-six and they but fifty-four. While three-fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents abroad, is clearly from the Free States, from their greater commercial interests, yet we have had the principal embassies, so as to secure the world markets for our cotton, tobacco, and sugar, on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher offices of both army and navy, while a larger proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. Equally so of clerks, auditors, and comptrollers filling the executive department, the records show for the last fifty years that of three thousand thus employed, we have had more than two-thirds of the same, while we have but one-third of the white population of the Republic. Again, look

at another item, and one, be assured, in which we have a great and vital interest; it is that of revenue, or means of supporting government. From official documents we learn that a fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of government has uniformly been raised from the North. Pause now while you can, gentlemen, and contemplate carefully and candidly these important items. Leaving out of view, for the present, the countless millions of dollars you must expend in a war with the North; with tens of thousands of your sons and brothers slain in battle, and offered up as sacrifices upon the altar of your ambition—and for what? we ask again. Is it for the overthrow of the American government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of right, justice, and humanity? And, as such, I must declare here, as I have often done before, and which has been repeated by the greatest and wisest of statesmen and patriots in this and other lands, that it is the best and freest government—the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, and the most aspiring in its principles to elevate the race of men, that the sun of heaven ever shone upon. Now, for you to attempt to overthrow such a government as this, under which we have lived for more than three-quarters of a century—in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquillity accompanied with unbounded prosperity and rights unassailed—is the height of *madness*, *folly*, and *wickedness*, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote."

The war, then, according to the words of the frank and open traitor, was "inevitably called forth by the act of secession," and that they who perpetrated that act will be held responsible for it—"WILL BE HELD TO A STRICT ACCOUNT FOR THAT SUICIDAL ACT BY THE PRESENT GENERATION, AND PROBABLY CURSED AND EXECRATED BY POSTERITY FOR ALL COMING TIME."

The eminently sleek and specious Mr. Seymour, then, when he stood before "this community" on that 4th day of July, 1863, and declared "that it was the results of his unheeded warnings that had stained our soil with blood, and to-day had brought our country to the very verge of destruction," must have been either ignorant of the purport of the act to which Mr. Stephens refers, or, if he knew it, like a false and traitorous demagogue, he con-

cealed the truth from his audience, for the sinister purpose of arousing their prejudices and evil passions against the national government, in its struggle to preserve the national life.

At all events, as to the war, and who should be held accountable for it, the word of the open traitor stands point blank against that of the other.

It is true, that notwithstanding his clear sense of the enormous crime about to be committed, and of the terrible consequences which were sure to follow, Mr. Stephens had previously pledged himself to go with his state, and he went. He had said to the Legislature of Georgia, Nov. 14th, 1860, in urging them, in opposition to Toombs, Cobb and others, not to precipitate the state into secession by legislative action, but to call a convention of the people: "Should Georgia determine to go out of the Union, though my views might not agree with them, whatever the result may be, I shall bow to the will of the people. Their cause is my cause, their destiny my destiny." But at the same time and to that same Legislature he said: "I look upon this country, with our institutions, as the Eden of the world, the Paradise of the universe. It may be that out of it, we may become greater and more prosperous [that was the argument of Toombs and his coadjutors]; but I am candid and sincere in telling you that I fear, if we rashly and without sufficient cause, shall take that step [secession], that, instead of becoming greater or more peaceful, prosperous and happy—instead of becoming gods, we will become DEMONS."

It is something for a man, if his patriotism is not great enough to embrace his whole country, to love even his own state, and be willing to sacrifice himself to its judgments, however blind and erroneous. At least, it is in striking contrast with the sinister and skulking demagogues here at the North, who, for the paltry ends of personal advancement, in the name of democracy and peace, do not hesitate to put at risk the ruin of both country and state.

Certainly, if one were to judge from the recent public efforts of Mr. *Seymour* to sophisticate and pervert the popular judgment of the country, the slightest conception of the great cause of the war would never be reached; but on the contrary, the inevitable conclusion would be, that it arose here at the North,

in some atrocious attempt, not of the rebels, but of the National Government and of the Loyal People who sustain it, to overthrow the National Constitution, and subvert the personal rights and liberties of the citizen.

War has been well called "the scourge of God." To suppose he ever permits its use in his government of the world, except to purge some otherwise fatal human guilt, would be, not only to ignore all the lessons of history, but to derogate from the paternal character of God himself. And yet, if the chiefs of the Copperhead Coil are to be believed, our present war sprung out of the opinions of a class of men here at the North, who hold to the apparently innocent belief, that when you have discovered a poisonous weed growing in your garden, a good way to get rid of it is to pluck it up by the roots—to eradicate it—and thence their terrible name of RADICALS.

Not only is the war to be ascribed to the opinions of these radicals, but it is their opinions also which prevent the rebels from laying down their arms, "when," as was announced in that last Cooper Institute dribble, "*we* have put them in that frame of mind, that they will be content to remain under our government." To hold to the opinion that, so long as the cause of a thing exists, you never can be sure of the non-existence of the thing itself, however adroitly you may settle the terms of its cessation; to hold that so long as the living root of Slavery remains in the National soil, and men drink of its poisonous juices, they cannot do otherwise than become traitors, because in its own nature, Slavery is treason to the fundamental idea of our Free Institutions. This is the head and front of the Radicals' offence! Can there be any doubt in any Copperhead brain, as to the necessity of some great expiation for such a crime? Treason and rebellion count for mere piccadillos in the presence of such guilt!

It is true there is quite another view of the matter, but that arises within the lines of the open rebellion.

The rebel Brigadier-Gen. E. W. Gantt, of Arkansas, late a member of the Confederate Congress, has just issued an address to the people of that rebel State, in which he declares Slavery to be the cause of the war, and proceeds to set forth his way to

peace, which is by no means a Copperhead one, as follows:

"Its existence (slavery) had become incompatible with the existence of the Government. For, while it had stood as a wall, damming up the current and holding back the people and laborers of the North, it had, by thus precluding free intercourse between the sections, produced a marked change in their manners, customs and sentiments. And the two sections were growing more divergent every day. This wall or the Government, one must give way. The shock came which was to settle the question. I thought that the Government was divided, and negro Slavery established forever. *I erred. The Government was stronger than Slavery. Reunion is certain, but no more certain than the downfall of Slavery.* As I have said, the mission of the latter is accomplished. And, as his happiness must always be subordinated to that of the white man, he must, ere long, depart on the foot-prints of the red man, whose mission being accomplished, is fast fading from our midst.

"Let us, fellow-citizens, endeavor to be calm. Let us look these new ideas and our novel position squarely in the face. *We fought for negro Slavery. We lost. We may have to do without it.* The inconvenience will be great for a while—the loss heavy. This, however, is already well nigh accomplished. Yet behind this dark cloud is a silver lining—if not for us, at least for our children. In the place of these bondsmen will come an influx of people from all parts of the world, bringing with them their wealth, arts and improvements, and lending their talents and sinews to increase our aggregate wealth. Thrift and trade, and a common destiny, will bind us together.

"Let us live in hope, my grief-stricken brothers, that the day is not far distant when Arkansas will rise from the ashes of her desolation, to start on a path of higher destiny, than, with negro Slavery she ever could have reached; while the reunited Country, freed from this cankering sore, will be more vigorous and powerful, and more thrifty, opulent and happy, than though the scourge of war had never desolated her fields, or made sorrowful her hearthstones.

"The sooner we lay down our arms, and quit this hopeless struggle, the sooner our days of prosperity will return.

"I have witnessed the desolation of the Southern States from one end to the other. This hopeless struggle widens it. Each day makes new graves, new orphans, and new mourners! Each hour flings into this dreadful whirlpool more of wrecked hopes, broken fortunes, and anguished hearts. The rich have mostly fallen. The poor have drunk deep of the cup of sorrow, while surely, and not slowly, the tide of ruin, in its resistless surge,

sweeps toward the middle classes. A few more campaigns, and they will form a part of the general wreck. Each grave and each tear, each wasted fortune and broken heart, puts us that much further off from the object of the struggle, and that much further off from peace and happiness.

"Viewing it thus, the terrible question was presented to me as to whether I should continue my lot in an enterprise so fruitless and so full of woe, and help hold the masses of the people on to this terrible despotism of DAVIS, where only ruin awaits them; or whether I should be a quiet observer of it all, or, lastly, whether I should assist in saving the remnant of you from the wreck.

"I have chosen the latter."

But then there are still other views as to PEACE within the rebel lines.

To the insidious "implorings" of Horatio "to those in authority to COMPROMISE that difficulty," what answer comes from the open traitors at the rebel capital?

The Richmond *Enquirer* of the 16th ultimo, the acknowledged organ of the maddened rebel, contains the following manifesto on the subject of

"PEACE."

"Save on our own terms, we can accept no peace whatever, and must fight till doomsday, rather than yield an iota to them, and our terms are:

"Recognition by the enemy of the independence of the Confederate States.

"Withdrawal of the Yankee forces from every foot of Confederate ground, including Kentucky and Missouri.

"Withdrawal of the Yankee soldiers from Maryland, until that State shall decide, by a free vote, whether she shall remain in the old Union, or ask admission into the Confederacy.

"Consent on the part of the Federal Government, to give up to the Confederacy its proportion of the navy as it stood at the time of secession, or to pay for the same.

"Yielding up of all pretension, on the part of the Federal Government, to that portion of the old Territories which lies west of the Confederate States.

"An equitable settlement on the basis of our absolute independence and equal rights of all accounts of the public debt and public lands, and the advantages accruing from foreign treaties.

"These provisions, we apprehend, comprise the minimum of what we must require before we lay down our arms. That is to say, the North must yield all,—we nothing. The whole pretention of that country to prevent, by force, the separation of the States must be abandoned, which will be equivalent to an avowal that our enemies were wrong from the first; and, of course, as they waged a causeless and wicked war upon us, they ought, in strict justice, to be required, according to usage in such cases, to reimburse to us the whole of our expenses and losses in the course of that war. Whether this last proviso is to be insisted upon or not, certain we are that we cannot have any peace at all, until we shall be in a position, not only to demand an exact, but also to enforce and collect treasure for our own reimbursement out of the wealthy cities in the enemy's country. In other words, unless we can destroy or scatter their armies, and break up their Government, we can have no peace; and if we can do that, then we ought not only to extort from them our own full terms and ample acknowledgment of their wrong, but also a handsome indemnity for the trouble and expense caused to us by their crime.

"Now, we are not yet in position to dictate those terms to our enemies, with ROSECRANS' army still in the heart of our country, and MEADE still on Virginia soil, but though it is too soon to propose such conditions to them, yet it is important that we should keep them plainly before our own eyes as the only admissible basis of any conceivable peace. This well fixed in the Confederate mind, there will be no more fearful looking for news from Europe, as if that blessed peace were to come to us over the sea, and not to be conquered on our own ground. There will be no more gaping for hints of recognition and filling of the belly with the east wind; no more distraction or diversion from the single momentous business of bracing up every nerve and sinew of the country for battle.

"It is especially now, at the moment when great and perhaps decisive battles are impending at two or three points, that we think it most essential to insist upon the grand and entire magnificence of the stake and cause.

"Once more we say it is all or nothing. This Confederacy or the Yankee nation, one or other, goes down, down to perdition. That is to say, one or the other must forfeit its national existence and lie at the mercy of its mortal enemy.

"We all know by this time the fate in store for us if we succumb. The other party has no smaller stake.

"As surely as we completely ruin their armies—and without that is no peace nor truce at all—so surely shall we make them pay our war debt, though we wring it out of their hearts. And

they know it well, and, therefore, they cannot make peace except through their utter exhaustion and absolute inability to strike another blow.

"The stake they have to forfeit, then, if they lose this dreadful game, is as vital as ours. So is the stake to be won if they win anything. It is no less than the entire possession of our whole country, with us in it, and everything that is ours, from Ohio to the Rio Grande, to have and to hold, to them and their heirs forever.

But, on the other hand, what we mean to win is utter separation from them for all time. We do not want to govern their country, but after levying upon it what seemeth good to us by way of indemnity, we leave it to commence its political life again from the beginning, hoping that the lesson may have made them sadder and wiser Yankees.

"We shut them out forever, with all their unclean and scoundrelly ways, intending to lead our lives here in our own Confederate way, within our own well-guarded bounds, and without, as St. John says, are dogs.

"And let no Confederate feeble knees and tremulous backbone say to us, this complete triumph is impossible; say that we must be content with some kind of compromise, and give and take; on the contrary, we must gain all or lose all, and that the Confederates will indeed win the giant game, we take to be as certain as any future event in this uncertain world.

"Meade's army and Rosencrans' once scattered, Lincoln can get no more armies. The draft turns out manifestly fruitless. Both the German and Irish element are now for peace. The Yankees have to bear the brunt of the war themselves, but in the meantime their inevitable bankruptcy is advancing like an armed man. Hungry ruin has them in the wind. It cannot be long before the Cabinet of Washington will have, indeed, to consider seriously proposals for peace, under auspices and circumstances very different from the present. For the present the war rolls and thunders on, and may God defend the right."

And yet, after all this, with that same bland and benignant countenance, with even more than the ordinary sheen of the copper in it, Horatio agai stands before "this community," at the Cooper Institute, Oct. 31st, 1863, and says: "There is no fair-minded man who will stand up and say that it is as easy to subjugate the South as it is to conciliate the South;" and then imploringly asks: "Why is it that this war is so strangely prolonged? Why is it that, in detriment and injury to the rights of the people, it still rolls on?"

If it were in the nature of demagogues to be ashamed, under the fierce glare of this last outburst of rebel lunacy and rage, one might suppose that the memory of that Academy of Music performance, with its after-piece of "my friends" at the City Hall Park, and their interlude of conflagration and murder, all to stop the draft and secure the constitutional rights of "our Southern brethren," would redden even Horatio's brow. But it seems not; the last Cooper Institute exhibition having even more of the coppery creature's natural sinuosities in it than any of its predecessors.

From of old there have been two ways of attacking one's friend or country in calamity. The one is by an open blow, like Peter's denial, with an oath, in the porch of the High Priest's Palace—the other with an "all hail, my master," and the blandest kind of kisses, to betray into the hands of the enemy. To Peter, God granted the grace of repentance: that is not impossible to A. H. Stephens. With the general approval of all mankind, Horatio! Peter's contemporary went and hanged himself.

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2. Echo from the Army.
3. Union Mass Meeting, Speeches of *Brady, Van Buren, &c.*
4. Three Voices: the Soldier, Farmer and Poet.
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7. Speech of Major-General Butler.
8. Separation; War without End. *Ed. Laboulaye.*
9. The Venom and the Antidote.
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11. No Failure for the North. *Atlantic Monthly.*
12. Address to King Cotton. *Eugene Pelletan.*
13. How a Free People conduct a long War. *Stillé.*
14. The Preservation of the Union, a National Economic Necessity.
15. Elements of Discords in Secessia, &c., &c.
16. No Party now, but all for our Country. *Francis Lieber.*
17. The Cause of the War. *Col. Charles Anderson.*
18. Opinions of the early Presidents and of the Fathers of the Republic upon Slavery, and upon Negroes as Men and Soldiers.
19. **Einheit und Freiheit, von Hermann Kafter.**
20. Military Despotism! Suspension of the Habeas Corpus! &c.
21. Letter addressed to the Opera-House Meeting, Cincinnati, by *Col. Charles Anderson.*
22. Emancipation is Peace. *By Robert Dale Owen.*
23. Letter of Peter Cooper on Slave Emancipation.
24. Patriotism. Sermon by the *Rev. Jos. Fransioli,* of St. Peter's (Catholic) Church, Brooklyn.
25. The Conditions of Reconstruction, by *Robert Dale Owen.*
26. Letter to the President, by *Gen. A. J. Hamilton,* of Texas.
27. Nullification and Compromise: a Retrospective View.
28. The Death of Slavery. Letter from Peter Cooper to Gov. Seymour.
29. Plantations for Slave Labor the Death of the Yeomanry. By *Francis Lieber.*
30. Rebel Conditions of Peace.
31. Address of the Loyal Leagues.
32. War Power of the President—Summary Imprisonment— by *J. Harmans.*
33. The Two Ways of Treason.
34. The Monroe Doctrine, &c.

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